1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

B For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has bee
433 241 characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a singl
BB product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first com-
249 mercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia.
175 The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os
Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroke
BB continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of thi
121 agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

B After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian
BB center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, orang
433 rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the am-
bitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with
these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative
industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of
rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions,
each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem
to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation
might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an
immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the
yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions
BB men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph,
178 249 has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are
161 still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The
B BB 241 178 Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, easter

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

B BB 241 178 Rio de Janeiro, the Paraíba Valley, and the older coffee areas of eastern São Paulo still contain enduring settlements and cultivated fields. If the speculative development of the nation continues, more and more of the Brazilian landscape will be occupied by these "passive" regions. Such areas have considerable significance as individual sections of Brazilian land and society, and they also provide an opportunity to examine some of the stable and traditional institutions which are concealed in the frenzy of the agricultural booms. It is reasonable to suppose that in these regions the hard core of Brazilian agricultural life is preserved. Here are maintained the values and systems which will not be surrendered.

B 361 As a consequence of the localization of the speculative developments, most of the settlements of Brazil are demographically detached and culturally and economically distinctive regions. Frequently these regions compose the effectively settled cores of individual states. Usually they have a single pre-eminent city in which are centralized not only political and social activities but also the organization of commercial agriculture--capital, marketing, processing, and foreign trade. Such central cities include São Paulo, Curitiba (in Paraná), Recife (in Pernambuco), and Salvador (in Bahia). Such is the regional
B 184 241 diversity that one may wonder if it is possible to speak of a Brazilian national culture or of a characteristic Brazilian agricultural pattern. Yet, "throughout Brazil, the people share in one basic culture pattern . . . The different regions present specialized versions of the national culture," the anthropologists have decided.[1] The existence of common agricultural patterns is implicit in the generalizations made about "Brazilian agriculture" by the agricultural specialists, geographers, sociologists, and economists.

B 241 114 The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

B 121 Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

BB 249 175 178 The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. BB 249 178 The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. 241 121 This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 **Introduction.** The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos
os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at
the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo.
The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New
World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in
175 • 178 the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in
181 the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the
433 241 realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital
investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most
grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social
433 and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese
241 178 colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued
[181] with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society
established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in
markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have
not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and
exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market
for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a
virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive
sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous
increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo.
This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its
agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods
of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of
reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

433 241 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural
178 society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.
[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to
[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] [249] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
[244] important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the *Centro-Litoral* of Bahia--the census area most closely
corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
433 was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By
1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
agricultural enterprises. The *engenho*--old world in the origin of its

178 249 433 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enterprises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

> 175 423 249 471 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.
>
> It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 241 471 433 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonisation a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural 000 mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the *engenhos* was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water
power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was
evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from
wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for
several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncav
[464] backlands. The *engenhos* were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "*Mina*" Negroes[18] had a relatively
sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made
substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
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567 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
shortages. *Falta de braços* (literally, lack of arms) has been a
perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of
which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--di
not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most *engenhos* had from
about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many
as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegena-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the
mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--
retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and
sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

175 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of
648 sugar cane cultivation.

175 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for
167 the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704)
569 reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[1731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the
171 West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles
249 as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian develop-
• 178 ments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had
185
249 been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments
249 abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages
178
439 which it had formerly held in the international market. This

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
198 249 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
439 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
[illegible] 565 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> 567 471 They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
> [466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
> 175 249 471 565 [668] because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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[471]

> maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

• [178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

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Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves—labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
471 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000—a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
● 178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

BB 175 178 249 257 433

The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

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For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until

B [249]

the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method ~~and~~ produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

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175 was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the
257 more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry.
178 The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence
BB
[178] of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB The technological revolution had two historical stages:
175 (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are
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257 clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho
471 stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from
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fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there
EB is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from
[249]
[257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced
the engenhos centrais.

NB In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo
BB persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological
175
178 innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was
249 typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry
257
471 began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize
its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

EB
NB
175 In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition
249 257 of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the
B Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the
175 nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast
654 249 would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps
257 were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do
B [647] Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as
a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was
to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through
quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this
program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the
Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB
EB During World War II temporary disruption of the national
178 249 production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an
257 advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion
43 limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.
BB In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the
178 249 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following
257 433 World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons
B [433] of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets
BB 175 in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry
178 249 was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets.
43 Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was
reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only
moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II,
at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865
BB 175 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small
277 472 operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

BB 175 272 472

of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

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As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245

Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

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The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
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249 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
565
181 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
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181 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior—the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

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567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brasilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 The Family. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

> 178 565 596 was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's momumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

565 596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

565 582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the 594 596 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brasilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

565 596 861 357 571 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

161 162 241 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was 13 per cent.

464 [634] In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 166 [369] [241] In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural concomitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 464 178 166 731 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"

BB 241 464 178 166 731 agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from sêcas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

BB 249 464 166 178 Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

B BB 241 166 [181] [565] Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form [249] of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be [212] resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of producing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

241 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of
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212 literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are
407 probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural
[242] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural
[354] experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill
[493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward
461 work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or
000 arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

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633 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The
464 relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an
433 extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in
food, clothing, and construction industries.

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178 **Conclusion.** The preservation of traditional values among the
181 people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their
433 conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population
161 is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although
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BB the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and
161 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only
162 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per
cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of
Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure
for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII).
BB Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the
161 decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the
162
241 influx of agricultural people from the *sertão*, the percentage of the
464 total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent
(1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

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633 The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo
[162] is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live
in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which
separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric
peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main
centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

161 The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in
162 the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern,
241 and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentra-
464 tion on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo,
the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary
[134] taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live
[132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The
only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the
area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central
[249] Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population
[178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane culti-
vation in the Recôncavo.

CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

BB 241 133 Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land
facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of North-
BB eastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settle-
361 ment and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern
241 133 coast—Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern
coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed,
B 361 this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although
241 133 in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settle-
ment and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of
rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals
that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its
people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal
distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles
the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it,
too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific
BB 361 nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its
241 433 settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the
178 settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of
the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first
came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo
have retained much of their original character.

BB The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the
128 241 Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion
of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of [489] its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered before the political boundary is reached. 241 361 443 491 This centralized distribution of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168 hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61 "
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46 "
White Potatoes (Batatá inglêsa)	44 "
Cotton (Algodão)	40 "
Onions (Cebola)	14 "
Garlic (Alho)	5 "
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4 "

241 311 245 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

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Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Eqüinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brasil. [175] [262] [178] [565] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the _município_ seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 [178] However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agriculturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six _municípios_ of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two _municípios_, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 _Corn._ Traditionally corn (_milho_) is a crop of the _caatinga_ (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the _município_ of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. [137] [231] The belt of Intermediate Hills around the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can b[illegible]ttle question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

241 311 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural
178 settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days"
[361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two
areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of
land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the
249 311 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of
178 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the *Instituto do Açúcar e do*
[654] *Álcool* and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry,
[656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and
244 311 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops
178 are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

249 244 311 178 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expansion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the município was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of capoëira de caatinga and capoëira de mata (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a município which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other municípios where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 311 178 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a município of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the cidade of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low serras and

241 shallow lakes west of the cidade, along the border of Conceição do Coite,
311. where intensive production of corn and beans on newly settled land could
178 be observed in 1953.

The agricultural expansion in Santo Antônio and in Nazaré was more notable. Both of these municípios lie in a zone of continuing agricultural development which is contiguous with the Recôncavo and which shows signs of becoming an integral part of the region. If the criterion originally used to delimit the Recôncavo and define the area of intensive field investigation—over 20 per cent of the total area in agricultural use—were to be applied to the 1948 distribution of cropland, then Santo Antônio, though not Nazaré, would lie within the region. The current agricultural development of Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent of Nazaré, is making these municípios progressively more like the Recôncavo.[33] The pattern of the production of tobacco and manioc in Santo Antônio is essentially the same as in the Southwestern Recôncavo. However, these two areas are still primarily oriented toward a zone along the Nazaré railroad, in which coffee and sugar cane, as well as tobacco and manioc, are important crops. For the moment, Nazaré and Santo Antônio are excluded from the Recôncavo, but with the explicit recognition of the possibility of new orientation.

Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the _sertão_, which could satisfactorily produce _fumo em corda_, but could grow only the poorest grades of _fumo em fôlha_.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249
433 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro,
São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower—perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple—a humid and formerly
forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils—_massapê_, _salão_, and _arêia_. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

249 161 361 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] 249 198 The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 249 311 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 311 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

245 Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the
[311] beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador
they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy
stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There
seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction.
Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of
organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fer-
tility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout
must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started,
the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently
the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--
Itaparica and Camassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João
[443] and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets
of Salvador without processing.

241 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in
178 the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation
of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy
[454] upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively
primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer
techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools,
in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The
importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture,
particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual
cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

BB 241 178 increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given BB 241 571 178 particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

B BB 241 The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," the has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. [178] It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated
had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

B
BB In other areas, as in
249 the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into
471 the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators.
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178 Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread
feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the
B
BB Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where
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231 several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the
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423 class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large land-
B holder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like
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423 those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small
471 properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this
178 be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those
producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and
transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and re-
gional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios,
are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha
[178] (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar
and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their tradi-
tional element but have been extensively modified in the last half
489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation
systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local
economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation
128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The dis-
cussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have
developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation,
and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an
important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the
Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods
are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of
this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is
the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the
smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It
[366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The
other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipal (slaughter

443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been [178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (*feiras*) are held in every *villa* and *cidade* of the Recôncavo. Each of these *feiras* has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the *cidade* will be held on a different day than those of the *villas* of the locality, and usually adjacent *cidades* have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from *feira* to *feira*. The market place [366] of most *cidades* and of the larger *villas* includes a public building [347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the *feira*, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the *feira* is practically universal--the rural areas of the *município*, or the *distrito* if it is a *villa* market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

482 492 489 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer. [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy. 489 492 493 177 198 505 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primitive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bája de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough 492 493 [171] crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
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496 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
471 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
249 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment,
but the general level of technology is considerably below that of
Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas
grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of
vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high
quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273
438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize
the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company,
which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment,
and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small _usinas_ and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
● 178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de
Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the
fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the
small mills.

249 The typical _usina_ involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hierarchy.
489 Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a
finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the
mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is
the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation
of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation
of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and
the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the industry.
249 Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and
upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the
operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes
necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa
or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining
a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the operation
249 of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the _usina_
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of
the large _usinas_ in Santo Amaro:

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471
Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular *usina* described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the *usina* pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the *usina* establishment, and in conjunction with several other nearby *usinas*, employs a doctor. These activities
[178] reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

249 244 433 of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
[231] [233] manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of
production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os
Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and
one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities
of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer
[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231] [233] into the area from the *sertão*, and little livestock breeding is found
in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small
[471] number of medium-sized *usinas*. The companies which own these *usinas*
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent
the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the
[499] cane is brought to the *usinas* by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505] [438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
[565] [471] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
[464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force
of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes
from the interior *sertão* of Bahia.

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 438 manioc are processed locally, in *casas de farinha*, and the *farinha de
mandioca* is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby
village or town.

249 244 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
311 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
134 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline
rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the
rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary *taboleiros*--in this
northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the
Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production
generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and
is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important
of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops
in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced
along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown
in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 137 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland
areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated
under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas
by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises—the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region—the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent—there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] [178] [466] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry
whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277
433 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

242 [215] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions [243] in the Recôncavo. Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research—any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

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*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation
is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there
is a modern sugar factory or *usina*, but control by the factory
[473] of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting
to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
[423] in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring
plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes
from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these
plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries,
are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the
past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves
who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
•178 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling
*249 techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice,
and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill.
But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting,
and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.
121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older techniques
has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
178 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
*249 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding
571 complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations,
developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based
on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations
between workers and owner on these family plantations
are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and
owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship
based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of
the obligations of nobility. Even the *usina* system perpetuates
this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense
of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology.
It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the
sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived
within the framework of the historical sequence outlined
above.

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in 361
the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in 342
the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map
of town), there are no *sobrados*, no signs of former grandeur.
The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings
with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick,
but most are of mud on a bamboo or *mangue* frame. Many have
been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long [178]
time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are
the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with
thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some 361
new-style houses built, *tipo bangalo* (bungalow-type), and [463]
there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising
people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers,
and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying,
and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the
town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants
of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and,
to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, [366]
in the area of the *sobrados*. Nevertheless, the majority of the
stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own [368]
chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go
up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men
gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude
of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at
the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African
gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has 206
a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby [205]
town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is [368]
also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions,
one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor.
Other people must go to the telephone office to make or
receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it
frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing
can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it
is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible
to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard
to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, 365
and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings [207]
in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios,
and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the [251]
health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

2. History of the Town

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo 36 might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since 121 it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be [178] sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area.

The history of this area began during the governorship of 175 Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income

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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

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The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

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The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sitio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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[7] Luis dos Santos Vilhena, Noticias soteropolitanas e brasilicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying [438]
in the city of Salvador. . . .[9] [433]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred [443]
years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo.
Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of [178]
decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo.
In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to 175
Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing
it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed 361
through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important 476
commercially to the state and became the new gateway
to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation.
Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some 175
ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people 361
from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not
enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used [162]
for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to [443]
Salvador by train from the factories.
The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, [497]
and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many 175
other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period
of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers 178
lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, 361
and administrative activities became more restricted as the
counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal
governments took over more functions, such as schools and
health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced 175
the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer 178
interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated
and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it 361
possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory 489
to the town or the city and back in one day instead of
three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to
spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible
for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping,
medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador,
because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation,
has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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[9] Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

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489 county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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178 Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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621 Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

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slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the *casa grande*, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

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The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the *senhor de engenho*, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The *senhor de engenho* dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

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Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its *sobrado*, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names.

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In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to *lavradores*--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

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As time went on the aspect of the *sesmaria* was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

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These houses (*solares*, or *sobrados*) were enormous, con- 565*
structed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. [342]
Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was
necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture
was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially
shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most [291]
of which was imported from Europe. Members of the fami-
lies frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned [301]
with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not un-
usual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite [567]
slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to
church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of dem- [794]
onstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that
of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When 175
the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Jan- 178
eiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except 249*
locally, for there was too much distance between him and the 565*
new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still
poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and [567]
finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The aboli-
tion of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the
plantation master.

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of 175
wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the 567
Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them 249*
to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and
died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part
of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation
of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle
of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth
century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast
of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for
slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the [435]
market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered
that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed [464]
approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields,
the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the
nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increas-
ingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and
even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth
century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traf- [435]
fic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

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During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

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It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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[2] Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

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located in a position where it could grind the cane of many plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agricultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled, processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

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However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

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There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insatiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corporation. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

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In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

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small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power.

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However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests.

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Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure.

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Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family.

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During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com-

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munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the *usineiro* as the new *senhor* and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the *engenho*. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

4. Plantation Life

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249 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the
● 178 plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

*249 Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient
units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought al-
361 most no change in the land settlement patterns of the area.
178 Since they were established on the site of former plantations,
[464] they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

800 The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	**Cr$325.600,00**
Cost of production	**206.244,00**
Profit	**119.356,00**
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	**222.250,00**
Cost of production	**225.198,00**
Loss	**32.948,00**
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	**537.000,00**
Cost of production	**319.248,00**
Profit	**217.751,00**

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with
the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are
immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts.
43 Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very
178 high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar
[426] exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still
burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture
for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for plant-
[492] ing. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of
*249 maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the
new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Do-
178 na Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede
the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with
*249 personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is
178 clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend
more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more
466 work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with
the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult
break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority.

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

[757]

> . . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer.
>
> "The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."
>
> The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.
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> Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc.--but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda.

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The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of *senhores de engenho*, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

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I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present *farinha*. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

The *Usina*: Usina São Pedro

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The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

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[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its 249*1
capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal 433
capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative 249*
of the others and experiences the same problems and difficul-
ties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. 473
The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde fam- [653]
ily, and the operations are directed by two members of the
family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the [423]
state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on
the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round
transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the
Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has
since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation
has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly
of rich *massapê* soil. The factory receives cane from the plan- 249*
tation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde fam-
ily by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other [602]
plantations within the community and four outside the commu-
nity, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In ad- [423]
dition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the coun- [505]
ty of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle
and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct
water transportation between the factory and the plantation in
Purificação.

The designation *usina* has several meanings which are quite 249*
similar to the meanings of the older term, *engenho*. In its 192
larger context, *usina* means the entire land-factory combina-
tion, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the
corporation. More specifically, *usina* means the factory build-
ing itself. In another context, *usina* simply indicates the pop-
ulation nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and
the other buildings.

The *usina* or factory nucleus roughly follows the same set- 249*
tlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orienta- 361
tion is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and
other homes of the owning family, which are grouped togeth- [178]
er in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small
chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

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[5] The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the [311]
depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are
too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and
soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale
prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an
x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which
are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and
[546] a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
This place has become the major meeting place for the men
743 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also
873 runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and
[571] who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to
some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female
pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty
462 clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After
a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are
spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time
water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then
the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending
upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take
from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are
considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do
the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and fre-
[178] quently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are
the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the
fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire
or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons
going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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[Town Life]

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and 226
baixador receiving slightly more than the *moços*. Most fishermen 465
dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: 226
although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among 461
many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the
net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only
ten participate, the work is much greater for each although
the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather
boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming
more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The *resse*, used to catch *xangó*, and the *abaladeira*, used 226
to catch other small fish such as sardines and *tainha*, present
a different operation. The *resse* is a net of close weave, 660
feet long and 1[illegible] feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden
floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe
(18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary.
This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing
tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite
sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They
launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking
water. The *resse* is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, [178]
where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge
of its weave from falling into the hands of too many
people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All
Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five
resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also [178]
to the *abaladeira*, is the cooperative launching of two nets at
once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, [476]
each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour
period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually
averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes [435]
fish together the total catch is divided equally between
the two. The *resse* and *abaladeira* fishermen estimate that [434]
they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year.
This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. [461]
After a few profitable days they are inclined to give
up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The *calão* is another large net requiring at least six men [461]
to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water
as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except
the very small *xangó* and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

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[Town Life]

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands
a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own *calão*--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on
a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that
the master "*toma conta da rede*," meaning that he not only is
fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed.
The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each
226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although
the master and *baixador* each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the *calão*
may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of
fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a
day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of
these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00
apiece. The *calãozinho* is a smaller net of the same type,
sometimes called the *redinha*, or little net. Although its operation
• [178] is almost the same as that of the larger net, it requires
only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming
[461] less and less popular as the *resse* increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the
227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying
racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As
they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he
immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which
the bark of the red *mangue* has soaked. This turns the white
cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action
of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in
this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The *resse*, *abaladeira*, and *tarrafa* are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take
as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
(461) paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-five
spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make
[435] an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread
and take much longer to make. The *calão* and the deep net are
made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. *Piassava*, a plant fiber which grows in
the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo
227 go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

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A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to someone's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

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A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

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The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young men remained on one side of the room, the young women on the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

*565 596 584 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (_noivos_), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the _gostando_ period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 *565 596 [591] The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suitable position. *565 594 Family connections are extremely important throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 [608] [596] [553] [178] As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of the first year of marriage, and the _compadres_ (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de-
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would 178
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire into their family background and place them mentally on the appropriate social level.

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[571] As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable *pistolão* ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various [557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

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[589] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

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[Class A Families]

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

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Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life *em familia*; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home. [562]

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Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an *almoço* (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them.

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The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a *feijoada* (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), *sarapatel* (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), *moqueca de camarão* (a type of shrimp ragout made with *dendê* palm oil), and *ensopado de porco* (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

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[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (*cafèzinho*). Lunch
is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or
stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small *merenda*
* (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
565 demitasse, and in the evening *ceia* (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
596 may go *en masse* to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
527 or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they
[546] may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
records. People go to these *almocos* by horseback, jeep,
[535] truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
[492] landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table
set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the *sertão*. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable *massapê* soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

178 ● 42 such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

42 473 The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

565* 594 [596] [184] The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

[Class B Families]

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal 517
are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern 565*
the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father 562
is the most important person in the home and has the final
word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social 594
sense and plays a much more passive role than the women 178
of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing,
for married couples of the younger generation are beginning [184]
to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of 369
the town family of the same class. The father is the central 565*
figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about 594
the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of
overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, [871]
although the sons of Class B families living at the factory
usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none [166]
of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead 565*
much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with 562
whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while
sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever pos- 184
sible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or 464
usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations,
running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565*

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das
Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 585
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

*565 512 462 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 743 178 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
462 dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father
[844] continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put
it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing 759
but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill
the family will help her, since she lives alone.

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is 761
called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies 851
before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and
goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an 775
open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin
after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance
scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child
is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only.
If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel
sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better
off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference [533]
in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for
the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound,
while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling.

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been 763
born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible.
But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do 851
so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents.
Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its 769
grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the
woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family 851
and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather 178
around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water
and baptized. This, however, is no longer done.

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized 851
in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community 217
of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed
only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the 162
same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth,
or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think
of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult,
he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing [178]
gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape,
and people are registering their children more frequently than [565]*
they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more
careful about this matter than are the lower classes.

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death 217
certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, [763]
so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for
births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo [759]
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother [193] church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

.178 79 [565] In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 794 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to 794 exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there [776] often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, [177] however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cult- [114] ism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). [177] In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nine- 794 teenth century. 174 Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than 794 those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in 369 the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward 178 disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. [177] In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

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[3] Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

[4] Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

[5] Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

[6] Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

[7] Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

[8] Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

[9] Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame ~~as a cult~~ leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of *Nagô*, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready 794
for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed [428]
the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing
along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the
mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer
forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship,
because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went [782]
through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief
is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. [462]
This could only be done with women disciples. However, [178]
one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance
of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the
case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The
old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties
of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him
because there is no one else in her house. Although all her
former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone
to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual
which must be properly carried out.

One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an
overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that 793
he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man 794
he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the
field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones 778
are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent [172]
from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts,
such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly
turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone
was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural
significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one
can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly
had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited
by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry 794
out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 178
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion 177
of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and [782]
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (*terreiros*) are built like other houses in
the community. The active one in town is located on a street 794
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the 353
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches [361]
and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the
dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist
of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room
known as the *pegi*, which houses the African altar with its
plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food
and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one
of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room
there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia
used during the festivities, such as the dress and
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial [782]
killings (*matanças*) are made of the goats and chickens
used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also
pictures of Catholic saints in the *pegi*, another departure from
the older traditional houses where such a thing would never
occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the *mae*, 794
or *pai*, *de santo*, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or [346]
father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather
zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term *filha*, or *filho*, *de* 192

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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of 101
this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951.
In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further 128
work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some
of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, 178
developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward 249*
the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the
introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from 596
the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, 178
owned and directed by members of one extended family. 249*
At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to 473
take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing
a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope [471]
than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is 596
necessary that we examine this second family corporation. 473
The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant
in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second 249*
generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

596 473 *249 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state, but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.

*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 178 *249 473 [596] [571] The new corporation has brought about many changes in administration of the factory. Although still a family corporation, it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-to-face personal relations. A new directorship and management was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 *249 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pattern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

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change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail [466]
at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory.
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 249*
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, 433
with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can [471]
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the [466]
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each [466]
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo,
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: [466]
the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations 178
are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private 249*
planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; 461
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields [492]
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [493]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. [407]
However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [492]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical
loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, [407]
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific [242]
agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented
the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. [443]
Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
571 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
452 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
407 the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
571 This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
437 the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
571 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
432 able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an extreme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
571 the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult, the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private planters are spending more time on their plantations than before, but their social life rotates from one plantation to another, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also reflected in the activities of the resident workers, who are upset at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from 249*
visiting the factory nucleus.
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An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311] considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an [452] easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has 178 also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the 249* entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and 43 has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised [656] the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling [458] inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466] have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the workers'
discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by
468 violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the
sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo
participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it affected
some private plantations as well, and was joined by
*249 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately
468 and effectively by the state police. On investigation
the police found considerable Communist literature and propaganda
467 in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
668 it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders
[625] were well-known Communist agitators. What is important
for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo
of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the
willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in
a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative
area, where loyalty and paternalism have always
been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and private
*249 planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
571 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly
466 since all machinery must be imported, are also working
toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern
described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the planters
245 began experimenting with cacao during the author's first
242 period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five
years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will
give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao
of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success
and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a
possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving
178 a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction
*[249] of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
while waiting for the cacao to mature.

[434] At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is
usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana
trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao
begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself
a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
461 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
464 for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be
done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at
[407] costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
178 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
245 be considered as an element of change in the community which
will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production
433 will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the
*[247] part of the factories, which represent large financial investments.
Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its
conversion into chocolate is usually done after export
--and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to
the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing
the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-
economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community
structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Bra-
433 zilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila
Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho
Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company,
Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie
under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás
has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads,
pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside
the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built
its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On
land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant,
and a service center for the unmarried field workers. [425]

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure
brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet rela-
tively few. The industry exists in the community as an in- [464]
truder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and
not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps
in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with
headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a
product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most
part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have
come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military
base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary
basis.

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the [362]
number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for
the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred [571]
a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a
result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new pros-
perity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still [493]
no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. [494]
The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador when-
ever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than at- [484]
tempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where pub-
lic services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be
almost nonexistent.

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the 178
town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had 315
an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. 433
Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay
of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater 226
explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and
digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of
the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its eco-
logical balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turn-
ing away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other re-
munerative activity, either outside the community or in the
petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar in-
dustry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as
bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The 178
planters of the area have profited to some extent because of 315
the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 433
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travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

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The planters have also profited in another manner. Petrobrás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks, and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

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There has been little social intercourse between the planters and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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[1] The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás
that its employees establish regularized households and register
their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance
[745] must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and
children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are
[362] no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres,
and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure
178 of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer
621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area,
*249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures
that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar
(434) cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established
for the private planter and the factory by the Institute
of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory
[361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the
physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the
[496] center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out
to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression
of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course
diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in
443 the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance
[245] than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place.
The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market.
*[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish
one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to
help attract more people to the area and to make life easier
for the population. A market place is now under construction
at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the
factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction
for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new
315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres,
and to the new city of Conselhó. Petrobrás cannot
[311] develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or
to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any
local community building efforts in the old public towns which
178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court
315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the
county income. The same sort of compensation which was
434 worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged
.651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled 315
gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased 434
income, the county government will be able to build 651
up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being 652
built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the
city.

In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already 178
a considerable movement for breaking away from the 632
parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.
The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. 178
The construction of a road from the town to Centro 491
has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will
make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from 489
Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of
the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the 178
map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside 245
world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a
new crop to the community will bring increased commercial 652
activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five 179
years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory 621
town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo 178
in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of 181
the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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of a new industry and new people, has brought new ideas and the desire for change. The town of Vila Recôncavo is beginning to lose its forlorn air. Inhabitants of the rural area are no longer content with the old ways of hand and animal labor. The community as a whole seems to feel that it is on the verge of something new and exciting. The major outlines of what is to come are not yet clear, but a willingness for change is invading the area.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All 567
writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between 565
the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was
not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil 571
relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal
nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New
World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other 175
regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east 249
for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 567
caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar 571
industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past,
and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large 466.
commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale 178●
sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, 565
and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro [464]
slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear,
to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is 121
called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known 361
as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State
of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending
inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern
side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was 175
characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese 249
who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of [311]
these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar
production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of
soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All
Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants,
so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the
Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two
islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of
Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter
who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of
the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly been divided into
plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past
250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names,
but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have
passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past,
the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There
were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
(492) and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the
end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
(471) buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of
course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to
supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The
buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently
a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or
two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their
houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance
of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear.
Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar,
with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*,
were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted
231 of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied
the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to
transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided
transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work
in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and
to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which
were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular
inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came
from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nagô*
(Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the
younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe
to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages
with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the
plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation,
until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a
remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization
from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale;
known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and
cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for
milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation
to another, or they often remained as free men on the same
plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to
plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still
functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down
altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
567 result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years
previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 30 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, [654]
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production.
This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator,
a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the
plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the
usina, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do
engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on
the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like
houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into
separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical [407]
tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy [365]
of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 000

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In the very large
466 *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial
workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and
[464] are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation.
The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers
and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted
from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the
impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern indus-
trial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have elec-
[365] tricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even
[362] the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools
both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities
[743] are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-
cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges
[872] fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of
[529] sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns
exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the
[242] relations among the racial groups of the zone.

361 III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints.
[131] The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic
orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, com-
[634] prises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire
area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county
seat.[1]

[423] It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays
plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the
[634] land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is
owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although
Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only
[504] important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not
used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the
[487] outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets
of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the
saveiros (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many
[438] of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce
[162] in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the
1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one
community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is
not the major supply source even for these groups which live near
enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they
634 prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is
rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of
the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new 463
petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large [565]
part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy 361
communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is 489
still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community [493]
area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One 361
hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful 178
sobrados of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the 829
engenhos), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white 563
and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely [826]
describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

Traditionally
565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
794 cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[171] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[177] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
[178] are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
[226] *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
[873] were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send [565]
their children to the capital to continue their education, and there [872]
are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law,
medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the [828]
mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the
darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are [829]
not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has
somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro,
meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the
knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only 563
one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all
shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all 529
sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives 526
shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white
man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to
play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation
centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to
keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the
beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together 563
here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of 529
public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price
is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. [565]
Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church
there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front 563
and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the 565
acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, [546]
colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos*
and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). [794]

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely [574]
personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plan-
tation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at 249
the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the 178
numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping 571
between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not 466
all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the
plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists [463]
and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party [574]
given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of
saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor
wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business
basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post
where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house.
On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not
in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the [465]
industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too
large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

249 178 571 466 [468] [467] trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 466 463 571 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 46 571 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

178 571 466 249 VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites
descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, 249
marrying among themselves and living out their own social life 565
apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. 571
Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend 563
upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the
faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in 466
the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master 178
and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent
trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the
intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, [463]
the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on
the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since
colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites
and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one
lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and
each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice
or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western 563
world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a 565
well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy
social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a 463
grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no 178
political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed
descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high
political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner
who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic
and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or
mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white
group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed
population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of
colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness
always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators
like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier
saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers.
Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class
and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to
join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to
deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class
groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as [794]
candomblé and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and
people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to
disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, 565
there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population 563
is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 178

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[369] creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or [826] embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo 121
Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including 166
Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied 563 *
by importation from Europe or the United States under the B
conditions existing during two World Wars—and more par- BB *
ticularly during the last one—and also by growing internal 121
demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually 178 ●
larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agri- 433
cultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this in- [439]
creased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, B
since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has BB
occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high 121 *
rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile con- 178
tinued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated [369]
that approximately two and a half million persons are being [161]
added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, sec-
ondary, technological and professional schools have been set B
up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it BB
began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educa- [871]
tional needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

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[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

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Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

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[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization 121*
increases; a shift which is intensified by the 178
secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan 466
character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new 571
social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched BB *
above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" [563]
situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After
a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it
seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with
Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much." BB

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, 121*
the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are 178
increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this 565
rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration
in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of 563*
previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and 571
pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social
order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a
larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more
difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; BB
and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving [315]
from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and [377]
the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on
the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the BB
presently increasing anonymity and make relations more
contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities [871]
increase and extend downward further into the
masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to
the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia B
may alter, perhaps markedly. BB

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses 121*

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[25] In a letter to the author. 563*

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco.

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This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All 131
Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and
varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous 134
marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of
southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as
massapé or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the
feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears
only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. [249]
This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly
both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable
agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, 178 •
of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of 249
slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although 471
the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by 565
reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence
of primitive techniques of production. Although large 567
landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent,
its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent
decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth
centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth
of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in
prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition
of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow,
and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern.
However, the present population is more dense in the Re- [161]
concavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of [144]
Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

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[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term. (103)

in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified
personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the
growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly
local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration
has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little
from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the
state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe.
Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office [368]
buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd
out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the
past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance
of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female
portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

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[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291]
Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

[City of Salvador]

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795 siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church
[554] exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the
military is high.

596 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patri-
621 archal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater
571 than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable
size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth
576 of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like
157 most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family
and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of
such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and
571 politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the con-
794 venience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affil-
467 iation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

578 In this stable society there is a comparative absence of
most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competi-
[477] tion is comparatively slight and limited in considerable
[433] measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which
[466] arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses
178 or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall
at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the
795 exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclama-
291 tion of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

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[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual [165]
whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a 175
considerable extent the preservation of African cultural 567
forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in 178 •
Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-
established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The con- 175
centration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of 361
large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around 178
whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number 563*
of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure 175
form but came to be a patois containing numerous ele- 197
ments from other African dialects as well as from Portu-
guese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting [797]
Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

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[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

197 teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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[291] As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by [854] the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry [262] their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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[794] At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marîmba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

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One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 554
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless- 567
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

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[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38). [541]

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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> When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

> He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

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[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and 175
close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sun- 795
day large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, 567
particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the B B B
Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São 175
Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their im- 567
ages were often, and still are today, painted black. Numer- 794
ous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organ- [776]
ized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and
Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these BE
all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, [178]
writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called 175
Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by 796
the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing 794
manner." 567

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

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[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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> crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

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[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15.

[86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[17] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[18]

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As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

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Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

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The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

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[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*."

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ily which shows slight traces of African ancestry all married white spouses, *brancos finos* ("genteel whites"), as a friend put it. One married the daughter of a distinguished physician and professor at the Faculty of Medicine. Another married into a prominent upper-class family. A third married a young man whose family possesses considerable wealth and lives in a palatial home in one of the select residential areas. The fourth married a descendant of the colonial aristocracy, now a state deputy, an able lawyer, and professor at the Faculty of Law.

A seventeen-year-old white girl "of good family," after replying in the negative to a query whether she would marry a *preto*, was asked, "How dark a man would you be willing to marry"? After reflecting a moment, she replied, "One about like Reginaldo," naming a light mixed-blood with *bom* ("good") hair.

An important commercial figure shows slight traces of Negro lineage, particularly in his hair. He is intelligent, capable, "dynamic." His wife is white, handsome, of gracious bearing. Their daughter, beautiful, of "charming personality," would pass easily for white anywhere. Her fiancé is almost white, but shows a few traces of Negro lineage.

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The rate of interracial marriage is probably increasing, although positive data are not available. As the black and the mixed-blood rise in class, one would expect this to take place. Several individuals from different class levels were quite certain that intermarriage is more prevalent today than formerly. "The races used to stay apart much more than they do now," commented a *preta* cook. "Once in a while a dark person and a white would marry, but it was rare. The whites used to say he was *uma mosca dentro do*

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leite ('a fly in the milk'). There wasn't so much mixture then."

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One may perhaps say, then, that black color, although an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes at Bahia (at least when sufficiently obvious to be readily observable) is not an absolute bar and may be overcome with the aid of such advantages as wealth, intelligence, occupational proficiency, beauty, and personal charm. The individual involved will be accepted more on the basis of his mental and social qualities than on racial descent.

However, since a Negro cannot escape his color but, on the contrary, constantly carries with him this indelible badge of low status, he tends to be catalogued by one meeting him for the first time as a member of the lower status group. Only as he simultaneously or subsequently gives evidence of other characteristics ordinarily associated with upper-class standing, such as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, "gentlemanly bearing," etc., is this original conception modified; and even then the fact of his being in appearance like a lower-class man remains one of the criteria of him and is undoubtedly a handicap.

It is in the light of this distinction that one perhaps best understands what at first sight appears to be discrimination on the basis of race. Since to a large extent discrimination follows color lines, one is likely to assume its similarity to that which we know in the United States and naïvely posit an automatic relationship between race and discrimination. But if one focuses his attention on those *homens de côr* who have risen in class and who for this reason are no longer subjected to the same prejudices as others of their fellows

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black 565
slaves of the lower stratum.[18] B

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The duration of this particular organization was, how- [563]*
ever, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure
of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more suc- [178]
cessful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

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The development of the cities increased the possibilities BB
for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mu- 563*
lattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was 555
more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, 463
after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* of- 871
fered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not pre- 175
viously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness
the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits
wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the
development of these centers of advanced study opened, at
least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready
access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores*
or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided
to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other BB
relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, 159
whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a 563*
Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

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[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

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The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[12] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[13]

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Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[14] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

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[12] For a sketch of the rise of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145–68.

[13] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[14] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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463 beira, have all been influential politicians with national repu-
*563 tations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a
slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São
571 Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At
least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had Afri-
b can ancestors.[28]

643 It is said the royal family set the example of social accept-
644 ance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those
*563 whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI,
in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of
175 all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom
Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball,
Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance
with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subse-
B quent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this
BB illustrious man."[29]

175 The range of acceptance was at that time broadening.
178 Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those
*563 most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorpo-
rated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

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[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31] 563 * 714

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The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared. 175 * 563 567 178 [538]

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

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[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

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Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

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The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

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[34] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357-58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

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It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

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TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds	....	....	3	....	3
Horsemen	14	47	42	....	103
Horsewomen	....	....	16	....	16
Trumpeters	13	....	1	....	14
Bandsmen	45	51	5	....	101
Squires	111	5	1	....	117
Girls on floats	....	2	166	....	168
Men on floats	....	4	14	....	18
Queens	....	....	3	....	3
Pages	5	14	8	....	27
Escorts	6	....	4	....	10
Truck-drivers	1	....	....	....	1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

815 829 [178] IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

[641] The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[535] [2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[13] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[14] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[15] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[16]

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[13] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[14] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

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THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

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The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

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But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

178 184 This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 178 177 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 175 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descend- 175
ants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought [215]
out from among his treasured possessions a faded photo-
graph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and [422]
pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in [534]
saia grande.[2] He recalls having been many times with his
father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from
Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased 439
until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, 178 •
only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, [796]
such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta*
(pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da
costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally
imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Bra- 167
zilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have
emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Consid- [423]
erable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do
São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Ter-
reiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are 563*

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[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413. [291]

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895. [178]

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565
placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[16]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551
has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nick-
names are very common, and many individuals are much
better known by them than by their given names. Among
such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable
African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê,
Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a
local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world,
such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba,
Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and
Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá*
to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791
Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793
function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756
who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipu- [754]
lations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the
feiticeiro, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black
magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794]
the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his
function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals
and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred
properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a
curandeiro.

[16] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as [576]
follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms out- [178] ●
ward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the
one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip"
is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places
his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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> 782 My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives
> 776 you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião.
> If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

184 If one were now to set down an account of the personal
177 experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an
• 178 entirely different mental world. In general content it would
565 reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European
* origin wherever found.

563 This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between
177 the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the
178 other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

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> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

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hian descendants of Europeans, whether or not they are aware of the fact, has been an eminently successful policy.

This change is not difficult to understand. The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion. To a considerable extent they are being weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors. In most cases they have now come to take toward their parents and grandparents the same attitudes which the European community takes toward them. Gradually, the behavior of these children and grandchildren is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of cultural inferiority.

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At the same time *Africanos* resent every evidence of another *Africano* breaking with the traditions of his ancestors and thus tending, even unwittingly, to undermine the solidarity of the group. Especially do they resent someone's currying favor with Europeans. As one man put it, "If I see an *Africano* talking to one of these whites, I won't look at the white man but I'll look the black fellow all over, this way [giving facial expression to indicate contempt, disdain], and after I'm down the street a ways I'll do this [sharply clearing his throat and spitting]." A white man was walking one day in Caminho da Cruz da Redenção in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) in company with two *Africanos*, an elderly *feiticeiro* ("witch doctor") and his son. A black suddenly shoved his head out of the window of a hut which they were passing and shouted, "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"

At first sight, one is likely to assume that these outbursts, reflecting as they obviously do antagonistic attitudes toward

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians S(

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571 the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, however, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos*.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

794 In details of lan-
guage, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
184 centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or
[178] "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and
Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the
apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés*
whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a
mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances
and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes
Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently
a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which
inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally
in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African
origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of
Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other
Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not
been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly
those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si
seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense").
A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence.

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With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning.

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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796 cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins
with the second week in September and concludes with the
794 first week in December. During this period ceremonies are
796 held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the
776 *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second,
of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three,
of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to
Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh
Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is
paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to
[782] all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a
794 Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to
Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies
[796] are held from time to time throughout the year, with the
exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity
is suspended.

[776] The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain
about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred
orixás each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score
794 less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred
778 day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including
[776] bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing
cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved
images; more often they are polished stones which have been
[782] worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are
carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special
functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes
the food and drink offerings placed before them.

794 In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of
776 the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or,
as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of
[178] the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of 776
Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is [178]
thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once."

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" 794
in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" 776
is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual 787
who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired.

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred 794
foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and iden- 776
tifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15.

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known 794
as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" 793
or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 284]

songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven. 794 533

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam [539]
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the
Great-One)[11].

At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical 794
instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom 764
used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is car- [533]
ried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany [534]
the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the [178] •
departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant [775]
woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* 794
of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had 764
been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known 787
and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

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[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security. 794 182

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members 79 178

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178 there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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776 In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

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[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." 798
"Education will do away with it. Just give it time," re- 794
marked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a 829
few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European cul- 798
ture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* 794
than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks 178
and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in 554
class and naturally make every effort to disassociate them- 829
selves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, dis- 794
paragement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals 178
in the European portion of the community and of such insti-
tutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most 829
of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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794 often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particu-
• 178 larly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These
young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame
the way they stray away."

829 João is a young black about twenty years of age who has
794 just completed a business course subsequent to graduation
from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported sec-
178 ondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a
159 prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a
[873] page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and
being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was at-
[658] tempting to learn a few words of this African language. But
the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts
with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than
from any genuine interest in the language itself. João re-
marked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it,
but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a
secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the
candomblé, except to watch the dances and to see the [cere-
monial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some spe-
[546] cial reason. I like the movies better, especially the North
American and the English films." She further remarked:

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[39]

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

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[39] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).

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192 3. Arthur Ramos, *Introduçao a Antropologia*
[113] *Brasileira*, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called *cabôclos*, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
• [178] the corresponding type. The term *cabôclo* has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
government prohibited the use of the term *cabôclo*, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of *mamelucos* or *cabôclos* were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a *cabôclo bom*, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

144 The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
192 light auburn hair are known by the name of *sararás*.

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
*563 Rodriguez (in her book *As raças humanas e a*
829 *responsabilidade penal no Brasil* /The Human
815 Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd
[113] edition, written at the beginning of the century),
the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced
from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/17 cont./

175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
*563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere
notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian,
or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in
general, an excellent reputation because they are considered
good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the
country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the
population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian"
merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however,
a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a
European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in
the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians
rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/
racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain
"above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class
prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this
association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
● [178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and
hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that
stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

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175 • 178 *563 555 These marriages increased after /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and
métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two
[665] Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of
political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or
less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[646] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual
laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social
situation by taking part in the life of the
parties.

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/53 cont./
000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
• 178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs,
chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can
hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, as-
serted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some
and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

/55 cont./

• 178 *563 666 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at political adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1), an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 555 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate [646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

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[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

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/57 cont./

*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. [175] [668] During the colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

● [178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of Brazil since the colonial period. [557] [555] [178] Today, says another informant, "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. [665] Two of our informants illustrate their assertion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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*563 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be
162 noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of
873 colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public
secondary schools recently established always include a larger
number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely
*563 rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around
873 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student,
which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing
•178 to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to
have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to
say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many
875 colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even
in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1). Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." • [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. *563 872 But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[564] [565] [113] 1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

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*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192] [567] 2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious." *563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20 *563 873 ● 178 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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/71 cont./

* 563 873 • 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." [796] In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. [565] In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

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* 563 /72 cont./
794 social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one
[565] to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and
third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded
for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since trans-
* 563 formed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These or-
554 ganizations have always been very important in all of Latin
794 America for marking or confirming the social classification of
their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished
person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions
the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a
[796] management position. During certain large religious festivals one
can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear
[292] with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes charac-
teristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying
the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be
able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of
the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The
elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon
which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and
which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest
among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions
who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to
say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached
and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended
for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his
social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abili-
[175] ties. These organizations were created in the colonial period in
order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as
happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic
groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order
● [178] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that
even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class
[565] lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the
process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new
conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions
having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

/73 cont./

*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" [178] But more than a century ago the concept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [799] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. *563 562 792 178 In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or
• 178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent
admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
[829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent."
Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-
[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/

Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

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*563 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by
526 the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered
575 them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination
• [178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however,
[565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football.
526 Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

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/78 cont./

*563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
• [178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of pro-
fessionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
*563 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
542 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
555 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over
554 these players and offer them very large sums so that they will
consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made
up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular foot-
ballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should
be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these
sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the
population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access
to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but
they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational
celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions.
Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and
supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational
activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the
price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in
commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To
take part in the management of one of these associations or on
the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the
State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his
prestige and to obtain political support from players and from
thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish them-
selves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other re-
sources for the sporting associations. According to the social level
of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons
have to take part in their management vary. An informant who
for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee
cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their
wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of
director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports
federation of the State.

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/79 cont./

*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
•178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students
is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
593 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the
various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
*563 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
571 their white comrades and who form groups with them according
873 to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

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*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

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1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... [198] This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil: he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

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Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45 years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?..., I am black." A mulatto merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past: the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

> 1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

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Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1) dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

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[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system
of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the
higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance,
due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have
spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they
belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the
social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively
frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of ad-
vancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
• [178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up
a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society"
and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less
mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood
in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

[SALVADOR]

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
•178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play": in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

[SALVADOR]

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*563 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent,
555 by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high
178 status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One
*563 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protec-
608 tion and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their
178 colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of
829 Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./